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VIETNAM REPORT

No. 2373

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ALL FOR THE SAKE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE'S HAPPINESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese Apr 82 pp 1-10, 22

[Editorial; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The fifth party congress, held recently in the capital of Hanoi, is an important event in the political life of our party and people in the early years of the 1980's. Over 1,000 delegates, representing more than 1.7 million communist party members in all parts of the country and in the combat trenches in the two fraternal countries, have brought to the congress warm revolutionary sentiments and diversified experiences —acquired in their struggle and labor over the past 5 years — for the discussion and decision of the major issues concerning the destiny of the nation and the life of the people.

The resolutions adopted by the fifth congress have further concretized the lines for socialist revolution and socialist economic development laid down by the fourth congress, and reflected our party's new progress in applying the universal laws of socialist revolution to the specific conditions in the country. Therefore, the fifth party congress resolutions have a profound guiding significance to our revolution in the 1980's. With the adoption of these resolutions and the election of the new party Central Committee headed by Comrade Le Duan, the fifth congress is an important milestone on the path of our people's struggle to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland.

The guiding spirit of the congress is: "ALL FOR THE SAKE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE'S HAPPINESS." That is the objective of the revolutionary struggle and the daily motto of action of our entire party. That is also the thought and sentiment and the confidence and ideal of life of the communist fighters — those who have voluntarily chosen the task of serving the people and fulfilling that "most impetuous desire" of esteemed Uncle Ho as the goal of their lifetime struggle.

With the spirit "all for the sake of the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness," the congress not only paid attention to the defense of the country and preservation of the revolutionary achievements scored with blood through many generations but also discussed and decided on policies, measures and concrete steps to quickly overcome difficulties, exploit the country's potentials, and surmount poverty and backwardness in order to make the fatherland prosperous and powerful and the people well off and happy.

Assessing the situation over the recent past, the congress affirmed: "The past 5 years have been recorded in the nation's history as a glorious and successful stage of the Vietnamese revolution."

It is true that, during this period, we have been able to unify the country in the state plane quickly; promulgate the SRV Constitution; establish the system of proletarian dictatorship throughout the country; defeat the two wars of aggression waged by Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; restore, improve and build the economy; carry out cultural reforms and development; maintain political security firmly; consolidate the militant alliance and form the firm and mutually supporting position of the three Indochinese countries' revolution; and strengthen militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

Meanwhile, the influence of the Vietnamese revolution on the struggle of the people in the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism has been intensified, and the position of our country in the international arena has been elevated.

These successes have "led the Vietnamese revolution to a new strategic position which is firmer than in the past, thus creating greater potentials for national defense and the successful building of socialism."

To achieve these successes, the Vietnamese people have had to overcome innumerable difficulties. Only by understanding this clearly will we have more pride in the achievements we have scored and more confidence in our party, people and armed forces -- those who have struggled successfully for this great cause with the effective help of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

With a high sense of responsibility roward the country and people, the congress profoundly reviewed the shortcomings and mistakes which we had committed and pointed out the causes set forth measures to correct these shortcomings and mistakes. Obviously, it is our economy — an economy which still depends heavily on small-scale production, which has been ravaged seriously by war and repeatedly by natural calamities, and which has been subject to enemy sabotage activities — which is the root cause of the difficulties we now face in our everyday life. Meanwhile, these difficulties have been aggravated by our subjective shortcomings. Besides these shortcomings and mistakes, we must, first of all, take into account such manifestations as SUBJECTIVISM, HASTINESS, CONSERVATISM, AND SLUGGISHNESS in economic management and leadership.

By viewing our work, including the management of social life in all aspects, more extensively, we will find that we have committed a very serious shortcoming — our laxity in economic and social management. This shortcoming is actually due to our FAILURE TO ADHERE FIRMLY TO THE SYSTEM OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

In the field of party building, there have emerged prolonged manifestations of conservatism and sluggishness, most noticeably in the work related to cadres.

Proceeding from a comprehensive analysis of the achievements and strongpoints as well as the difficulties and shortcomings mentioned above, our party has drawn valuable lessons for its leadership activities. Through this, the entire party as well as every part cadre and member has taken a step further toward maturity. The greatest lesson is that instead of stopping with a general line, we must concretize the party line into plans for socioeconomic development and into major viewpoints, policies and measures for the entire country as well as for every sector and every sphere of activity in accordance with the country's historical conditions and with the needs and capabilities of our people at each specific stage. And in order to carry out the party line, close attention must be given to organizing and guiding the implementation of tasks, building an effective system of management, bringing into use correct incentive policies, building an integrated contingent of qualified and capable cadres, and developing the combined strength of the system of "leadership by the party, mastery by the people and management by the state" in which a task of great importance at present is to uphold firmly party and state discipline and to make the entire society aware of the highly organized and disciplined character of the modern working class.

THE MATURITY OF THE PARTY AND THE NEW STRATEGIC STANCE OF OUR COUNTRY ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FACTORS THAT ENSURE THE CONTINUED ADVANCE OF OUR COUNTRY'S REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE.

It is obviously incorrect to think that our country is in a dark tunnel with no way out. However, to see the brighter side only without realizing the great difficulties still to be overcome and the serious outstanding problems still to be solved is also a naive mistake, if not a manifestation of irresponsibility.

Realities over the past 5 years clearly show that the line for the socialist revolution and the line for building the socialist economy laid down by the fourth party congress are correct. Along with asserting the correctness of party lines and the need for continued implementation of these lines, the fifth party congress pointed out: Party lines are a perfect integrated whole from which there arise some major issues: FIRMLY UPHOLD THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, ESTABLISH THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE MASTERY OF THE LABORING PEOPLE, AND PROCEED TOWARD SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION.

The class struggle in the period of transition toward socialism is very complex and difficult. In our country at present, it is all the more complex and difficult due to many objective causes. This requires that we FIRMLY UPHOLD THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT a very sharp tool of our party and people in the struggle for the success of the cause of socialist construction and national defense.

The comprehensive requirements for firmly upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat were clearly spelled out in the resolution of the fourth party congress. Here, we are stressing only one point: To ensure that the dictatorship of the proletariat can fully develop its functions we MUST SEE TO IT THAT THE ORGANIZED AND DISCIPLINED CHARACTER OF THE WORKING CLASS IS THOROUGHLY UNDERSTOOD AMONG ALL THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SYSTEM OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. This is necessary because in the difficult and complex struggle to build a new society, this organized and disciplined character has an extremely important impact. It serves as a bond binding all party members together in a stable and strong organization and closely binding the party with the entire working class and the laboring people to create the massive strength of the socialist revolution. Lenin said: "...unless the self-imposed discipline of the proletariat can triumph over the state of spontaneous anarchy of the petty bourgeoisie... it is impossible for socialism to win victory" (footnote: V.I. Lenin: Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, 1960, volume II, part I, page 419).

ESTABLISHING THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE MASTERY OF THE LABORING PEOPLE constitutes a very crucial objective of our party lines. Its comprehensive requirements were also clearly spelled out in the resolution of the fourth party congress. Here, we need only stress the following point: The party's leadership would be less effective if the party could not raise the majority of the laboring masses to the position of real masters in our society. The more the laboring people can develop their right to mastery, the stronger the party's leadership will become and the more the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated. To be more precise, the voluntary activities of broad sections of the masses and their active participation in the management of the state and in economic and social management are sources of immense strength for the vigorous and uninterrupted advance of our country's revolutionary cause.

The decisive importance of SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION on the success of socialism in our country is undeniable. Only by embarking on socialist industrialization will we be able to build the material-technical bases of socialism. Such bases are the material foundation on which the entire new social system is built. Naturally, each step of socialist industrialization is also a step in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthening the system of collective mastery of the working people.

On the basis of the actual situation in our country, the congress laid down for our people TWO STRATEGIC TASKS:

Firstly, build socialism successfully; and

Secondly, be ready to fight and defend firmly the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

We must be aware of the reactionary character and wicked schemes of the Beijing hegemonist expansionists against our country, and of the collusion between China and the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the world revolutionary movement. In this way, we will enhance our revolutionary vigilance, build a modern and comprehensive all-people national defense, RESOLUTELY FIGHT AND DEFEAT THE BEIJING REACTIONARY CLIQUE'S MULTIFACETED WAR OF SABOTAGE AGAINST OUR COUNTRY and, at the same time, stand ready to defeat the enemy if he wages large-scale war against our country.

In spite of this, BUILDING SOCIALISM remains our top priority task.

Continuing to implement the revolutionary line laid down by the fourth party congress, we have been concretizing this line still further in the immediate stage, including the whole of the 1980's. The party Central Committee political report presented at the fifth congress stressed: "The stage ahead is one of continuing socialist construction and socialist transformation, further strengthening the political and moral unity of mind of the people, reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the people's living conditions, stopping and eliminating negative manifestations, achieving important progress in all fields, creating a new balance in the economy, and at the same time, preparing for even steadier and stronger steps forward in the next stage."

In this immediate stage, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths will be very complex and difficult in all respects — political, economic, ideological and diplomatic. Therefore, we have to coordinate very closely socialist construction with socialist transformation, economic development with the consolidation of national defense, and ideological education and the development of the working people's right to collective mastery with the strengthening of socialist law. We must use coercive and dictatorial measures vigorously to ensure the scrupulous implementation of the party's lines and state law. Lenin said: "... anyone who believes that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be achieved without resort to coercion and dictatorship will commit the most stupid mistake and show that he is a highly nonsensical utopian" (footnote: V.I. Lenin: Discussion of Industrialization, the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 67).

Our people must make every effort to attain the GENERAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES OF THE 1980's set forth by the congress.

Satisfactory achievement of these objectives will make it possible for our country's economy to meet the consumption needs of society and achieve accumulation of capital within itself. This will help the economy to be more and more balanced on the basis of increased production of goods.

To that end, it is necessary to formulate correctly and implement satisfactorily MAJOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES, taking into account inevitable problems arising from the process of our country's advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

We must realize that the relationship between industry and agriculture is a highly important matter. In the stage ahead, we must rely on the country's potential, on our cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and on the strength which our country's heavy industry has developed and will develop, in order to ADVANCE AGRICULTURE TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, in a closely combined agricultural and industrial structure. Our agriculture has been developed under a uniform national plan, has carried out intensive and specialized cultivation to a fairly high degree, has applied a relatively developed system of division of labor and his yielded fairly abundant products and goods, therey meeting the country's demands for grain and foodstuffs, raw materials, agricultural products and goods for export.

It has been modernized to a certain degree on the basis of the achievements of our country's heavy industry and of international assistance and cooperation. It has achieved socialist transformation and relied on districts as its main and important base to develop. In fact, it has not developed by itself but is closely associated with the various industrial sectors in which heavy industry, though not yet well developed, has exerted a great effect on agriculture — an effect which cannot be considered lightly.

In view of this, we must Concentrate on Agricultural Development, Considering Agriculture as the foremost front and advancing it one step further toward large-scale socialist production, while striving to accelerate the production of consumer goods and establish an additional number of important heavy industrial sectors and combining agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry into a rational goods industry agro-industrial structure. These are the main objectives of the struggle for socialist industrialization in the immediate stage.

To achieve socialist industrialization under these objectives, we must perform quite a number of jobs and pay attention to establishing a correct system of management and planning while bringing into full play the creativeness and responsibility of all echelons and sectors, from the central to grassroots levels. We must also pay attention to and consider economization as a major and long-term national policy, strive to ensure accumulation, and develop the combined strength of the implementation of the party's general lines and economic line.

Based on the socio-economic strategic guideline which is taking shape, our party has set forth the major tasks for the 1981-85 5-Year Plan. We believe that, with the experience gained in economic and social management and with the new factors which emerged from the initial stage of our effort to do away with the old system of management, the struggle to implement the Third 5-Year Plan will certainly bring about the fine successes we desire, despite the fact that this struggle is still rife with difficulties.

Realities show that the ideological and cultural revolution in our country -- also known as the struggle between "the two paths" in the field of ideology and culture -- is a protracted, complex and difficult struggle. It is because this struggle involves the complete transformation of the concept of the entire society and of the soul and way of life of each individual and seeks to fight the profound influences of neocolonialism that the imperialists and international reactionaries frenziedly oppose it in the field of culture and ideology. Therefore, OUR EFFORT TO SHAPE A NEW CULTURE AND A NEW TYPE OF SOCIALIST MAN CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE STRUGGLE TO WIPE OUT RESOLUTELY ALL THE VESTIGES OF BACKWARD AND REACTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE LEFT BEHIND BY THE FORMER SOCIETY OR FROM THE STRUGGLE TO VIGOROUSLY COUNTER ALL PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE ACTIVITIES OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARIES AND CONSTANTLY PREVENT THE PENETRATION OF THE COUNTRY BY ANY INFLUENCE OF THEIR BOURGEOIS, REACTIONARY AND DECADENT IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE.

In recent years, to shape a new culture and a new type of socialist man, our people have carried out activities in numerous aspects and have recorded many successes, especially in the field of educational development. However, there are also many shortcomings such as the decline in the quality of educational work, the laxity in the struggle against reactionary and backward culture, and the lack of militancy in the work related to information and propaganda. It is necessary to overcome these shortcomings resolutely and accelerate the ideological and cultural revolution comprehensively on the basis of "the state and the people work together."

With the understanding that the educational standards of our society depend on neither machinery nor the economic situation, we will carry out cultural development in every locality so as to make it possible for all grassroots units in the cities and rural areas to enjoy a healthy and happy cultural life while contributing effectively to the cause of national construction and defense.

Over the past 5 years, by remaining loyal to the Leninist foreign policy Comrade Ho Chi Minh advocated and upheld and by carrying out a principled foreign policy, our party has scored many great achievements. One of its most outstanding achievements is the strengthening of the militant alliance among the three Indochinese countries and the fine development of the relationship and all-round cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community.

From now on, in continuing this principled foreign policy, our people will CONSTANTLY CONSOLIDATE AND FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG VIETNAM, LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA, CONSIDERING IT AS A LAW OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE THREE COUNTRIES AND A QUESTION OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE DESTINY OF THE THREE PEOPLES. In addition, our people will FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND THE SOVIET UNION, CONSIDERING IT A PRINCIPLE, A POLICY AND A STRATEGY, AS WELL AS AN IDEAL AND A REVOLUTIONARY SENTIMENT. Our people are determined to contribute actively to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

We advocate a policy of establishing good-neighbor relations with the ASEAN countries, being always ready to cooperate with these countries in coordinating efforts to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

We support vigorously the resolute struggle of peoples against bellicose imperialism and other reactionary forces, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Our state and people totally support the Soviet peace program for the 1980's. We welcome the proposals and initiatives which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev advanced at the 7th All-Union Soviet Trade Union Congress and his recent statement in Tashkent.

We advocate firmly maintaining our policy of friendship and good neighborliness with the Chinese people, but we are determined to struggle against the Beijing hegemonist and expansionist clique which is colluding with U.S. imperialism in an attempt to weaken and annex our country.

The present situation requires us urgently to establish and strengthen the mechanism of PARTY'S LEADERSHIP, PEOPLE'S MASTERY AND STATE MANAGEMENT.

We must, first of all, STRENGTHEN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORIAL STATE VERY VIGOROUSLY. We must see to it that the national assembly and the people's councils at all levels perform their functions and duties and exercise their powers as people-elected organs, as specified in the Constitution. Our state must STRENGTHEN SOCIAL MANAGEMENT ACCORDING TO LAW. It must fully use its political and economic powers to maintain social discipline and struggle effectively against negativism in the economic and social life. In the working people's interest, our socialist state must resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries, the exploiters who have refused to transform themselves, thieves, speculators, smugglers, hooligans and ruffians. On the other hand, it must severely punish state cadres and personnel who have violated the law.

SPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO REORGANIZING AND IMPROVING THE OPERATION OF STATE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT ORGANS IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND A NEW MANAGERIAL SYSTEM.

Our state managerial apparatus must be compact but effective and capable of managing an economy which is now in the process of transformation and reorganization and is advancing gradually to large-scale socialist production. Managerial activities must be sharp and realistic and their leadership must be close. To this end, such a management system must be highlighted by a clear didivsion of work and responsibilities and must promote the enhancement of everyone's sense of responsibility and discipline. Meanwhile, in production and trade establishments the system of leaders must be implemented strictly.

We must realize that today the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist state is our party's primary task. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE ABILITY TO DEVELOP THE STATE'S MANAGERIAL ROLE AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY. The party exercises leadership over the state, but it does not do the latter's work, nor encroaches upon the powers of state organs.

THE PARTY'S MASS AGITATION WORK IS OF STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE. As the party exercises leadership over the state, the importance of this task, far from being reduced, has increased. This is because the great cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland, more than any other cause, requires an extensive development of the intellect and great willpower of the masses of people.

Today mass agitation work has new requirements. They involve highly developing the spirit of collective mastery and the initiative and creative spirit of the masses in national construction and defense and, at the same time, taking care of their everyday interests. To fulfill these requirements, it is necessary to improve mass agitation forms and methods in such a way as to subject the masses of all classes, walks of life, ages, circles, religious and nationalities to the party's education and to help them highly develop their positiveness in national construction and defense.

Effective mass agitation work under the new conditions requires combined efforts of all party, government and mass organizations. It is necessary to PREVENT AND OVERCOME BUREAU-CRATISM WHICH IS NOW THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO THE MASS AGITATION TASK. Leading party cadres must adopt the practice of establishing constant contact with the masses. Each party member must operate within a mass organization and set a good example in his work. The state must establish a system under which people's organizations will participate in managing state affairs effectively. Mass agitation work must be aimed at promoting and developing A SEETHING AND LASTING SOCIALIST EMULATION MOVEMENT in all fields of social activity, especially on the labor and production front, for the sake of the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness. Such a movement can only be the combined result of all educational, economic and administrative measures, the important feature of which must be the combination of ideological education with encouragement through material incentives and the correct combination of the three interests: the interests of the entire society, the interests of the collectives and the private interests of workers.

To fulfill strategic duties in the new stage, it is imperative TO CARRY OUT THE PARTY-BUILDING TASK SATISFACTORILY IN ALL RESPECTS AND IMPROVE THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP AND COMBATIVITY.

The party's lines and the resolutions of the fifth party congress must be concretized into correct plans, policies and measures; the party's practical organizational abilities must be improved; the contingent of cadres must be selected and assigned correctly; and the masses must be organized and motivated to accelerate the revolutionary movement. To attain these basic objectives, the party must continue to enhance its working class character, its vanguard character and its revolutionary and scientific nature.

As required by the revolution, our party must strengthen leadership in all respects, including the cultural, security and national defense domains. But SPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE GIVEN TO ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP. THE ENTIRE PARTY MUST GO DEEP INTO THE ECONOMIC FRONT, IMPROVE THE STYLE OF LEADERSHIP OVER THE ECONOMY AND ENHANCE ITS ABILITY AND EFFICIENCY IN LEADING THE ECONOMY. More than anything else, the economic domain requires that our party carry out its leadership on a scientific and revolutionary basis. Only in this way can it overcome its present shortcomings and make economic development work progress firmly and steadily.

After having laid down correct guidelines, lines and policies, OUR PARTY MUST STRIVE TO IMPROVE ITS IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP. Ideological work is primarily designed to educate our entire party and all our people and soldiers to develop an unyielding willpower and an iron-like determination and acquire the knowledge necessary to fulfill the two strategic duties — building socialism and defending the fatherland.

Everyone must be made to understand thoroughly the party's national defense line, its general line on the socialist revolution and its line on building a socialist economy and to have the determination to strive to implement these lines with the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm. Meanwhile, everyone must be determined to struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare, to condemn the hegemonism and expansionism of the Chinese reactionary rulers — the present direct and dangerous enemy of our nation — and to criticize views that are inconsistent with the party's lines severely.

The ideological work must be vigorously oriented toward educating and improving the revolutionary qualities of party cadres and members and people and contributing actively to the enhancement of their scientific knowledge, especially their economic knowledge.

To enhance combativity, the ideological work must be directed toward intensively analyzing and SEVERELY CRITICIZING SMALL PRODUCERS' IDEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS AND OPPOSING RESOLUTELY BOURGEOIS THOUGHTS, NEOCOLONIALIST CULTURAL VESTIGES AND FEUDAL IDEOLOGICAL VESTIGES.

To obtain great results and possess a strong persuasiveness, the ideological task must be associated closely with the reality of the revolution and the thinking of the masses. In particular, it must keep itself abreast of the fresh problems involving the people's everyday life, economic development and the consolidation of national defense, and must be based firmly on Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is necessary to expand and improve Marxist-Leninist education among party cadres and members and people and to embark on a comprehensive reform of political and dialectical education work.

Along with strengthening ideological leadership, THE PARTY MUST PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO STRENGTHENING ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP, WHICH STILL LEAVES MUCH TO BE DESIRED. Organizational work involves many tasks. Only the questions regarding the building of the contingents of party cadres and members need our special attention for the time being.

We all know that the quality of cadres is a factor deciding the success of leadership. Therefore, the party must concentrate great efforts on building the contingent of party and state cadres, especially leading and managerial cadres, capable of shouldering the heavy responsibilities in the new revolutionary stage.

Immediate and long-term plans for training and improving cadres must be formulated so that they will be improved effectively and assigned to the right places.

The party Central Committee political report presented at the fifth party congress says: "In cadre work, it is necessary to make correct choices and properly assign key cadres at all levels, in all branches. A cadre must not be given many jobs concurrently; a correct combination must be made of good and capable cadres in different age groups. Young cadres, women and national minority cadres, who are good and capable and who have grown to maturity in the revolutionary movement of the masses should be actively brought into the leading bodies of the party and state. In assessing cadres, we should overcome the tendency to lay one-sided emphasis either on past work and family background or on academic diplomas and degrees." These instructions of the party are very correct and must be carried out scrupulously.

With regard to the IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONTINGENT OF PARTY MEMBERS, we must carry out three measures simultaneously: Remove unqualified members from the party; admit to the party outstanding elements from the revolutionary mass movement; and improve the quality of party members through work, study, criticism and self-criticism and party activities.

To carry out these measures satisfactorily, special attention must be paid to watching closely the personality of communist party members — that is, the qualitites and abilities which party members must have in the present revolutionary stage.

Each party member, whatever he does and wherever he is, must prove that he is a vanguard combatant and has the ability and prestige to lead the masses in struggling for the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland. All of his acts must clearly reflect the party's revolutionary and scientific character. He must set a good example for the masses in productive labor and other tasks and daily and hourly persistently strive to accomplish realistic things to contribute to the development of production and stabilization and gradual improvement of the people's life. On the national defense front, he must heighten vigilance and display a courageous and heroic fighting spirit. He must participate actively in the struggle against negativism in economic and social life and get in close touch with the masses. He must display a sense of organization and discipline, maintain the unity and oneness of minds within the party, lead a healthy and honest life and engage passionately in study in order to improve his work standards. He must develop warm patriotism and be imbued with a genuine proletarian internationalist spirit. Only persons with such qualifications deserve to be in the ranks of the glorious party.

With such qualified party cadres and members, with the traditional unity and oneness of minds within the party, with the blood sealed attachment between the party and people and with the strength of the international solidarity between our people and the world's peoples, our party will certainly fulfill its difficult but glorious duties, always "worthy as the leader and truly faithful servant of the people" and the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution, as Comrade Truong Chinh said in his speech opening the congress.

On the long path of struggling for the socialist ideal, our party and people are faced with great difficulties. But we have many advantages, and these advantages are basic. Illuminated by the resolutions of the fifth party congress and struggling perseveringly, our entire party and all our people and soldiers will certainly achieve successes in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

As party Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Le Duan said in his speech closing the congress: "Our entire party and all our people and soldiers are being reinforced with a new vitality brought about by the historic resolutions of the congress.

"We are determined to fully implement the sacred testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh.

"No opposing force can check our advance."

With this iron-clad conviction, let our entire party and all our people strive to implement the historic resolutions of the fifth party congress successfully.

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